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What makes a majority in the United Nations?

LAST week the U. S. threatened to oust Soviet delegate Malik as UN Security Council president if he did not stop "filibustering" against the "majority." Many wondered: what makes a UN majority? Security Council members speak for the following numbers of people:

Cuba	5,000,000	U. S. S. R.	212,000,000
Ecuador	3,000,000	United Kingdom	50,000,000
Egypt	19,500,000	U. S.	150,000,000
France	41,500,000	Yugoslavia	16,000,000
India	337,000,000	Kuomintang "China"	0
Norway	3,000,000		

The 475,000,000 people of China are unrepresented. Here are the vote majorities in terms of populations, showing what they would presumably have been had China voted:

1. Should the question of China's representation be discussed? (Motion lost.)

For: India, Norway, U. K., U. S. S. R., Yugoslavia	618,000,000
Against: Cuba, Ecuador, France, U. S., Chiang	199,500,000
Majority for	418,500,000
Majority for (with China)	893,500,000

2. Should "peaceful settlement of Korean question" be discussed? (Motion lost.)

For: Egypt, India, U. S. S. R.	568,500,000
Against: Cuba, Ecuador, France, Norway, U. K., U. S., Chiang	252,500,000
Majority for	316,000,000
Majority for (with China)	791,000,000

3. Should "aggression against S. Korea" be discussed? (Motion carried.)

For: Cuba, Ecuador, France, Norway, U. K., U. S., Chiang	252,500,000
Against: U. S. S. R.	212,000,000
Majority for	40,500,000
Majority against (if China had voted)	434,500,000

No UN delegate raises the question of giving populations greater voting weight, but on Oct. 24, 1946, columnist Walter Lippmann already noted that:

> **We are suffering from an optical illusion if we think that international voting is "democratic."... When you give all governments an equal vote, you get the greatest possible inequality in the representation of people.... Is it really democratic that in international affairs a citizen of Cuba has a voting power equal to 28 citizens of the U. S., to 10 citizens of the U. K., to more than 60 Chinese, to perhaps 35 Russians? The rights of small nations are very precious indeed. But they need not be and should not be invoked so as to deny the rights of the peoples of great nations. Yet that is the result when we confuse the equality of states with the equality of men.**

In a plea in the May, 1950, **Monthly Review** for "peace and civil liberties in one world, backed up by armed might in the UN greater than that in either the U. S. or the U. S. S. R.," Henry Wallace wrote:

> **This long-range objective cannot be agreed to today because the Soviet Union, China and India, comprising half the population of the world, have less than 10% of the votes in UN. The socialist half of the world and the so-called backward part of the world will not allow the U. S., through her control of votes purchased with dollars, to dominate the armed might that would be represented by a really powerful UN.**

A defiant Harry Bridges goes to jail
(See FREEDOMS roundup, page 8)

ELMER A. BENSON ON AMERICA'S FUTURE

'The only alternative is the Progressive Party'

Elmer A. Benson, chairman of the Progressive Party and former Governor of Minnesota, today issued the following statement from his home at Appleton, Minn.:

IN response to repeated inquiries as to my position on the Progressive Party and on foreign policy, I am today issuing the following personal statement:

I intend to continue as the National Chairman of the Progressive Party because it is the only political party that is not in the hands of the munitions makers and war profiteers who are afraid of peace. The Progressive Party is the only party that stands for the Brannan Plan, for $100 a month pension to the aged, for a real excess profits tax on big business and for extension of other New Deal programs begun under Roosevelt. The Progressive Party is the only party that calls for settlement in Korea and for negotiations to end the cold war, so that the New Deal programs for farmers and workers can actually be put into effect and not just talked about.

I have no confidence in Pendergast's Harry Truman to ever deliver on his promises for peace or a Fair Deal because he has turned the reins of government over to Wall Street executives, such as Averell Harriman, and to military men, all of whom have opposed the Roosevelt New Deal and Good Neighbor Program.

MUCH is made of United Nations approval of the war in Korea; but from the beginning Truman has betrayed the United Nations time after time. FIRST: On the advice of Herbert Hoover, Truman scuttled UNRRA. SECOND: Truman by-passed the United Nations with the Truman Doctrine for Greece. THIRD: The Truman Administration blocked action when the Dutch and Arabs were the aggressors, actually supplied directly or indirectly with U. S. or British arms. FOURTH: Truman has acted with all his might to split the world and to encourage the cold war armament race with the military program under the Atlantic Pact. FIFTH: Just this spring, Truman gave Trygve Lie a complete cold shoulder when he proposed a 10-point program for peace including seating of the new government of China. SIXTH: Truman declared war in Korea without the approval of Congress and before the approval of the United Nations. United Nations approval of the fighting in Korea was voted after the U. S. Air Force was in action, and only by those countries on which the U. S. had a first mortgage through the Marshall Plan Atlantic Pact, at a time when the governments of Russia and China were not participating. SEVENTH: Without moral or legal justification and without even the semblance of United Nations approval, Truman has now committed American boys to die for the discredited warlord, Chiang Kai-shek.

In short, the record of the Truman Administration in relation to the United Nations is one of sham and cynical disregard of its real function of achieving peace. Truman's basic foreign policy is one of support for reactionary, fascist regimes all over the world linked with by-passing the United Nations whenever the UN stands in the way of this wicked policy. Now, Americans can see that Truman's cold war means death to American boys 8,000 miles away from home and that it will mean more death in other corners of the globe as Truman gets us involved in civil wars elsewhere.

SPECIFICALLY in regard to Korea, we should never have supported the reactionary Syngman Rhee quisling regime in the first place. In the second place, we should have insisted on unification of Korea ourselves long ago, based on the interests and democratic rights of the Korean people and not on the rights of Wall Street-owned mines and industries in Korea. Thirdly, we should have expected civil war in Korea, especially since it has been Syngman Rhee who has been making provocative attempts during the past year threatening to invade North Korea. Finally, now that the Civil War is in progress, we should be making every effort to get it mediated instead of continuing to fan the flames of war. It is shocking that the case of the North Koreans was not heard before UN approval of the fighting and it is just as shocking that the United States delegates to the UN blocks the appearance of the North Koreans before the United Nations today. If Truman's position in Korea is as justifiable as he claims, why is he afraid to have the North Koreans appear before the United Nations?

As we examine the record of Truman and his cronies, we see that is is a record of capitulation to Wall Street and the war crowd. While they pursue an evil foreign policy, they are also pursuing just as evil a domestic policy of stamping on civil liberties, of letting war profiteers run rampant and of complete betrayal of Fair Deal promises. No decent progressive American can support the Truman policies. The only alternative is the Progressive Party.

Don't be an "armchair progressive." Get subs — Send $$ to the Guardian.

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

Real UN picture

WARWICK, R. I.

After seeing and hearing via television the way things go on in the United Nations, the Russians have a statesman, not a politician, as their envoy, giving their idea of what the Russian government seeks. When you see and hear the story in its correct form, not in the distorted manner our "free" American press puts it over, it makes any reasonable person stop and think that the Soviet Union has some good points in its favor. At least we know they are not a lot of illiterate dumbbells, and that goes for other representatives from those "backwards, illiterate" countries, including India.

But we are ganged up on Russia and anything Russia is concerned in, good or bad, is "verboten." It is a wonder we have not heaped the curse upon vodka, caviar, Tschaikowsky and Shostakovich and all Russian music, as Hitler did with all Jewish music and composers. We are good imitators of Hitler, to say the least. **James Rooney**

Salt of the earth

DES MOINES, IOWA

I am answering your call for more aid to the GUARDIAN with a $1 donation, my third such gift this year. It is all I can afford.

I am an unemployed cripple, and my father who was permanently injured in a fall is also unemployed. We will soon exhaust our savings.

However, we do not want the GUARDIAN to fold either, as its coverage of the news is so vitally needed, if one is to know the truth. I do sincerely hope others who have not helped in the past will come through with donations this time.

Marjorie Parris

The love for Wallace

EVANSTON, ILL.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Henry A. Wallace and his reply to me:

Dear Mr. Wallace:

To no person in all the history of the world have so many people in different parts of the world given the love they have given you.

Now I hear that the strain was too much for you. We have known that the strain was intense, but I thought the support of the people throughout the world would sustain you. "The overwhelming majority of the Congress and the Senate are in favor of fighting the Koreans," but who are they—and who are we?

"But we in the U.S. have a still mightier power if we will only use it for the people." Not only for the people, but we, the people, use it. Have you thought of yourself as a leader of the common men without realizing that you are a common man yourself with the strength and power of united mankind? Since 1942 we have taken your thinking into our thinking.

When you came on the stage at the convention in Chicago last spring the people stood, chanting, "We want Wallace." In the audience it was wonderful to feel the heart throbs of the people. But you did not show that you felt or heard the audience. The next day I wished that you were in the audience listening to the people. This was so different from a big meeting during the election campaign; as soon as you came on the stage then you gave the audience the feeling, the confidence that we were all together. People said you had the great ability to make people feel that way.

I am thinking that the greatest men, while living, may become physically exhausted. It is too bad it came now when all strength is needed for peace. Will it help you regain your best strength to think of the millions in the world who care? **Helen Miller**

SOUTH SALEM, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Miller:

If you really want to help the cause of peace now you will help put on a drive to influence Russia to use her good offices to get the North Koreans back of the 38th. Then the really important steps must begin, involving restoration of a vital UN and the use of UN for the help of the people of Eastern Asia.

I have become convinced during the past six months that Russia wants to continue the cold war. I have not liked the actions of the completely Russian dominated Czech communists. These actions have shocked me as much as the movement in force of the Russian tanks across the 38th. **H. A. Wallace**

Let's make it a landslide!

It is no landslide yet, but subscriptions, bundle orders renewals and other demands for the GUARDIAN have shown a steep rise since our first issues on Korea. This midsummer upturn indicates a widespread determination among American progressives to take matters into their own hands on breaking through the press-radio iron curtain.

MORE AND MORE READERS ARE AVAILING THEMSELVES OF OUR NEW, WRAPPED DELIVERY BY ORDERING A WEEKLY WRAPPED BUNDLE OF FIVE COPIES INSTEAD OF JUST ONE, AND HANDING THE EXTRA COPIES TO FRIENDS.

Why not trade in your present GUARDIAN subscription today for a $5-a-year bundle of five copies weekly? NATIONAL GUARDIAN is your best instrument for peace: don't fail to make the very best use of it.

"... honor and guts"

OLD FORGE, N. Y.

Thank you for your remarkably courageous stand on Korea. I was hoping you wouldn't waver as our friend Wallace did, and you did meet the crucial test with honor—and intelligence, plus guts. **Leon Forer**

Dotting the "I"

OLD LYME, CONN.

Just heard over WCBS' "Give and Take" program: John Reed King asks, ". . . And what does F.B.I. stand for?"

Hesitant Lady: "Federal Bureau of Injustice?"

Simply brought down the house! Wild applause, cheers. King, a trifle embarrassed, perhaps, but delighted, merely mumbles something about J. Edgar Hoover's pardon. **Dorothy Butler Howells**

Shredded democracy

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Shredded wheat is delicious with strawberries and cream. What is your religion? Where was your father born? What is your mother's occupation?

Do I sound slightly incoherent? I've just finished filling out several innocuously called applications for employment. I am confused, dizzy, desperate. If American democracy ever collapses into a shambles, the utterly stupid and vicious Spanish Inquisition that one must go through in order to earn a living will have contributed to this collapse.

I ask myself innumerable times: Why go through this humiliating performance? The inexorable logic of circumstances always gives me the same answer: "You must eat." Yes, shredded wheat is delicious with strawberries and cream. But what isn't? An application blank torn to shreds probably would be too! **Marie Detwiller**

We worried too

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Good luck to the best newspaper I know of. Thank God for the delay for the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee. I was very worried about them. I agree with you 100% on Korea. Mr. Wallace's statement makes me feel great sadness. **D. M. Hannah**

It can't be stopped

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Homer Bigart, correspondent for the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, much praised for his dispatches from S. Korea, filed one in Washington last March 23 in which he reported, in part, as follows:

"Of special gravity is the news that Chinese minorities in Southeast Asia are embracing Communism at an alarming rate. . . . Even the wealthy Chinese are subscribing to "victory bonds" of the Chinese Communist regime. . . . Here is a country - by - country analysis: FRENCH INDO-CHINA. The most dangerous spot in Southeast Asia. BURMA. Very dangerous. There is tendency toward dictatorship, and hope of a genuinely democratic government remote. THAILAND. A big Chinese population is causing anxiety. PHILIPPINES. The Islands are plagued with economic difficulties. INDIA and PAKISTAN. There is a good deal of suspicion in India of American motives. INDONESIA. New government is trying to combat inflation. KOREA. The government is dictatorial and incompetent. FORMOSA. Chiang Kai-shek's crowd is still torn with the same degree of mutual distrust and suspicion that prevailed on the mainland before the Nationalist collapse."

A. Garcia Diaz

4-letter word

PARGO, N. D.

"Almost invariably officers and men refer to the Koreans as 'gooks' . . ." (GUARDIAN, Aug. 2).

The army has provided us with a slogan for our campaign. Taken acrostically, "gook" gives us Get Out Of Korea. **D. Bjerke**

What about Werner

PARIS, FRANCE

I cannot understand or appreciate or fathom the positions of you and Max Werner. How can you print the words of a man who talks about war, about mistakes in national defense, and so on? I have no use for a planner of wars, no matter how keen Werner is.

If he is a liberal then he should talk about peace strategy, not war strategy . . . If he isn't a liberal, then throw him the hell off of your paper. **Don DeKoven**

Said G. B. Shaw on his 94th birthday: "As long as war persists as an institution every nation must to the utmost of its resources keep its armed forces up to the level of its most formidable rivals. . . . There is no use approving or disapproving." As long as war potential dominates foreign policy-making, progressives above all need to appraise it realistically. Ed.

Knowledge and need

PORTLAND, ME.

The GUARDIAN is desperately needed in these crucial times. If all who NEED it only KNEW that they need it, no more subscription appeals would be necessary.

Louise Hunt

A progressive writes:

Let Henry Wallace answer Henry Wallace

NEW YORK

It would be futile to pretend that there is no mourning today in the ranks of Gideon's army. Its great general has deserted it in its most crucial hour; he has renounced the principles upon which the soldiers rallied round him.

Let Henry Wallace answer Henry Wallace:

"Why does the American press keep on talking about 'Russian imperialism' and 'Russian aggression'? It isn't that, any more than our efforts in Mexico and South America are imperialism. . . . I think a better phrase is Russia's drive for security. We've known ever since the Yalta Conference that Russia would insist on friendly nations on her borders. She has a right to that protection. . . . When [the Russians] see us project plans like the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, they interpret them as warlike moves—as the preliminaries to outright warfare and invasion." (From an interview in the N.Y. Times, February, 1948.)

"The fight against communism is a convenient cloak for the fight of international big business and the military against the demands of workers and farmers and independent business men and professional people for new lives free of the shackles of monopolies and feudal lords. . . . Behind the curtain [of mass hysteria] the aircraft industry and the air generals have begun a new campaign to get additional billions for armaments from the American people." (Speech in Chicago, April 10, 1948.)

". . . The men who are running our government fear the common men and women the world over. . . . They have recognized that the world is changing; that the people of the world are on the march. . . . They are using our resources, our science, our productive facilities—and soon they hope to use the bodies of our young men—to stop the demand of the people everywhere. [We must] speak up for peace. Pay the price for forthright expression. Be heard, be heard now—for the voice of peace-loving, freedom-loving people is our only national defense." (Speech, Summer, 1948.)

". . . He who suports Truman on the grounds of foreign policy supports a policy which would regiment American workers in a labor front led not by Mr. Murray or Mr. Green, but by the Gauleiters of big business; by the American Robert Leys. . . . They scream of the communist danger in order to isolate and divide the trade unions. But their object is to enslave all laboring men, regardless of the color or their ideas." (Speech before UE, September, 1948.)

"President Truman makes it plain that no effort will be made to arrive at a peaceful understanding with Russia for the settlement of differences." (Statement on Truman's inaugural address, Jan., 1949).

"The judgment of Truman—or even the judgment of congress—will mean little if war comes." (FDR memorial address, April 1949).

No one could question the steadfast integrity of Henry Wallace. But I must wonder by what mysterious chemistry the fearless patriotism of the former Wallace became the confused chauvinism of today. "My country, right or wrong," said Carl Schurz; "if right, to be kept right; if wrong, to be set right." Surely that is the real patriotism.

As for the idea that the UN has sanctioned our performance in Korea, I am reminded of the story of the bartender who called upstairs to the owner of the bar: "Shall I trust Jim Jones for drink?" The owner called back: "Has he had the drink?" "Yes." "Then trust him."

Berenice Noar

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WAR & PEACE

'Caesar' MacArthur alarms W. Europeans

AVERELL HARRIMAN, President Truman's "Harry Hopkins," returned to Washington last week after a four-day, 16,000-mile mission to the Far East. He dined with Gen. McArthur in Tokyo and visited the Korean front. **Time** said his mission was to tell MacArthur "to keep the President better informed, and on non-military matters to make recommendations, not decisions."

MacArthur's visit with Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa the week before was apparently made without Washington's knowledge or consent. **Newsweek** said MacArthur had refused to permit State Dept. representatives to attend his talks with the deposed dictator; and that coincident with his visit, Nationalist planes resumed bombing the China mainland in violation of Truman's June 27 directive. Both MacArthur and Harriman denied such reports, the former angrily attributing them to appeasers and defeatists. But reporters stuck to their stories.

BRITAIN IS WORRIED: Political repercussions of the Chiang-MacArthur talks rang round the world. Pressure from Great Britain was a main factor behind Harriman's trip. Britain is alarmed that MacArthur will precipitate a war with China. Conservative and Labor MP's joined the press in attacking the general. One paper called

HAVE YOU HEARD?
MacArthur says that his conversations with the Generalissimo "have been maliciously misinterpreted."

him the "70-year-old Caesar." Conservative MP Peter Baker said:

> "We will not burn our fingers in the strange cauldron which Gen. MacArthur seems to be brewing in Formosa."

GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported from London:

> The Labour leadership has so far been able to crush opposition to the Korean adventure in the Labour Parties and trade unions, but almost every spokesman qualifies his support by explaining that Formosa is "quite a different matter." Among the Conservatives there is also a strong reluctance to becoming involved in Formosa. The Observer said Aug. 6 it was hard to deny China the right to send its armed forces to an island from which it was being bombed, and added it was Britain's duty to talk frankly to America about the tragedy which would follow from a Formosa adventure.
>
> It is probably true to say that it was the City of London more than the Labour Government which forced through the recognition of Communist China. The British capitalists knew that the new Chinese regime had come to stay and they are perfectly willing to deal with Peking in an effort to save their trade and investments. They, too, would oppose being dragged into war with China over Formosa. So if Minister of State Kenneth Younger's written statement last week that Formosa was de jure Japanese territory means Britain is going back on her wartime pledges to restore Formosa to China, Britain will be sharply divided.

YOUR TIMING, DOUGLAS: At Lake Success the MacArthur junket was viewed as "a triumph of mistiming," said the N. Y. Times. Wrote the Times' James Reston:

> . . . Nobody in the UN believes that Gen. MacArthur's discussion of "military matters" with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek did not have political repercussions and nobody here takes much consolation in the thought that not MacArthur alone, but President Truman, Secy. Johnson, Secy. Acheson and Mr. Harriman might have approved the Formosa trip before it took place.

Of MacArthur's charge that criticism of his trip came from malicious leftists, Reston said:

> The criticism here is coming from responsible officials of governments whose support the U. S. badly needs in this Far Eastern crisis. It is coming from men who want this country to avoid being trapped by the Russians into a general Asiatic war with Communist China. It is coming from top officials of the UN. . . .

WHAT JUSTIFICATION? Some U. S. newspapers worried about U. S. Formosan policy. The Minneapolis **Star**, Aug. 8, said that if the U. S. goes to war with China there will be no "world-wide rallying to our side." How could we justify going to war with Formosa, it asked:

> As retaliation for an act of Communist aggression? It would be hard to convince the many nations which recognize the Reds as the lawful government of China that such a government couldn't take armed action to recover national territory held by an insurgent force. Or might we say that keeping Formosa in friendly hands was vital to the security of the U. S.? The rest of the world would likely remember that Hitler used the same argument to justify some of his aggressions. . . .

In a recent column in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** Walter Lippmann called to the U. S.'s allies in the UN to rescue it from "the President's hasty and unilateral action about Formosa." Last week at Lake Success they were trying in some measure to moderate U. S. policy, as Russia's Jacob Malik continued his diplomatic offensive which has already split the non-Communist front. But behind the scenes the U. S. was maneuvering to bring Egypt and the Arab world back into its camp by promoting British-Egyptian talks on the withdrawal of some 100,000 unwelcome British troops from Egypt.

UNITED NATIONS

One or two sides to Korea question?

FOR three days the Security Council fought over a question which, while on the surface "procedural," did not keep both the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. from making their positions on Korea increasingly clear.

On June 25 the Council, with Russia absent, invited a South Korean representative to sit in on its deliberations, while denying a hearing to North Korea, as proposed by Yugoslavia. This month, when Soviet delegate Malik took over the Council presidency, he proposed in his capacity as Soviet delegate that both sides be heard in accordance with Article 32 of the Charter. This says that any state not a member of the UN,

> . . . if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without a vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute.

Malik said that in denying a hearing to North Korea, "a party to the dispute," the Council had violated this article of the Charter as well as the canons of common sense, fair play, and the Council's established practice.

DEADLOCK: The U. S. fought bitterly to get South Korea in and keep North Korea out. Its main fight was made on a procedural point: it claimed Malik had to invite South Korea in accordance with the Council's June 25 "decision," or as President to rule against seating South Korea. If Malik ruled against, the U. S. had the necessary seven votes to overrule him. However, if Malik refused to make a ruling, a Council vote on inviting South Korea became a "question of substance" and liable to a veto. Throughout the three-day battle Malik refused to make a ruling and the U. S. refused to permit a "question of substance."

Malik opened the week's first meeting by reading an urgent telegram to the Council from the North Korean Foreign Minister, protesting "barbarous" U. S. bombings of non-military targets (see below). He was about to read a second communication—from the UN Commission in Korea—when Kuomintang "China's" Dr. Tsiang interrupted with a point of order, demanding that Malik promptly rule on seating the South Korean representative. Even pro-U. S. observers thought unfortunate the choice of Tsiang to carry the ball for the U. S., and the haste with which Austin rushed in with "complete support."

DESPERATE STEPS: Malik's refusal to make a ruling so angered Austin that, after charging Russia with "assisting the invaders in the Security Council," he said "other delegations" would meet to "determine steps . . . to assert the authority of the Council."

When the Council adjourned, the U. S. delegation called a press conference at which it threatened: 1) to oust Malik as president; 2) to adjourn till September; 3) to call a special session of the General Assembly. British spokesmen let it be known they would not go along with these proposals. In two private meetings Wednesday and Thursday, a U. S. attempt to line up nine members against Malik failed. Some delegations considered the U. S. course "dangerous and desperate;" to them the Americans, in their desperate campaign to get Russia out of the UN, seemed to have lost their heads.

WHO'S INVADING? With pro-U. S. members refusing to agree to a showdown with Russia, the U. S. lost face. Before Thursday's meeting Malik met privately with the other delegates at their request but no positions were changed. At the Council meeting Austin chose an unfortunate formulation with which to blame Russia for the war. "Whose troops are attacking deep in somebody else's territory?" he asked Malik. "Whose territory is overrun by an invading army?"

WAR AND PEACE: THE FACE OF KOREA
A farmer stands near a U. S. plane that crashed in his field

Hoy, Havana
Yankee civilizing mission in Korea

At Friday's meeting Britain's Sir Gladwyn Jebb repeated Austin's arguments. But significantly, when Jebb came to enumerate his cases of "communist imperialism," he cited Viet Nam, Burma, Indonesia and even Hyderabad, but never referred to China at all.

Accusing Malik of filibustering, the U. S. bloc was now itself filibustering to prevent a vote on embarrassing questions. It did not want to go on record as seeming to oppose hearing of both sides and to favor bombing of open cities. But that was the position that Malik had put them in.

MALIK'S ANSWER: Malik replied late Friday to Jebb and to Austin's charges

(Continued on following page)

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[ ] People in Colonies, by Kumar Goshal, lecturer, historian and GUARDIAN writer.

[ ] Soviet Russia: the Land and Its People, by Nicholas Mikhailov, leading Soviet geographer.

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SEND CASH, PLEASE; WE CANNOT HANDLE C.O.D. ORDERS.

(Continued from preceding page)

of the previous day. To Austin, Malik said that North Korean armor had been purchased from Russia before the withdrawal of Soviet troops from North Korea in 1948 and that a good part of it was captured U.S. equipment.

Quoting U.S. sources, he repeated the Russian and North Korean charge that the war had been instigated by Syngman Rhee with the help of MacArthur. He said there was a contradiction between the UN Commission Report received at Lake Success on June 29 (he charged it was concocted after the fact) and the U.S. report submitted to the Security Council:

> "The report of the commission contains the allegation that the South Korean troops were disposed in depth for purposes of defense. However, the report of the Government of the U.S. submitted to the Security Council states that at the beginning of the hostilities five divisions were in action on the South Korean side, while a sixth division was situated somewhat further to the South and participated in the fighting on 26 June. The same report states that at the beginning of the hostilities the North Koreans committed three divisions and two brigades, which is rather less than five divisions. Thus, the Syngman Rhee troops were not disposed of in depth for the purposes of defense, as incorrectly reported in the document of the Commission, but they had taken their dispositions directly on the boundary, obviously for the purpose of committing an attack against North Korea."

Sapilki, Warsaw

IN THE WEST

"Take a look at my library"

Atrocities: Charges and eyewitnesses

HERE are excerpts from the protests of the Korean People's Republic to the Security Council last week on the bombing of civilians and non-military targets:

> After the mass raid on Wonsan on 13 July the rice warehouse caught fire. After the raid the inhabitants of the town gathered at the burning warehouse and dragged the rice away in an attempt to save it from the fire. Two American fighters then appeared over the town, machine-gunned the crowd, and then returned again several times and continued to machine-gun the fleeing inhabitants. As a result of the air raids a large part of the town of Wonsan was completely destroyed, including several schools, five hospitals, and several cultural institutions and cinemas. More than 4,000 persons were killed and injured. . . .
>
> A large number of small towns and villages of South and North Korea, containing no military targets or industrial undertakings of any kind, have frequently been subjected to brutal bombing by American aircraft and many of them have been entirely or almost entirely destroyed. . . .
>
> There are numerous instances of American planes firing on peasants working in the fields, passenger trains and steamers. . . . On 4 July six American aircraft four times machine-gunned peasants of Munari village, South Pyongyang Province, who were engaged in weeding the fields; as a result 15 peasants were killed, one of them, Kim, a peasant woman with her infant which was being breast-fed among the rice paddies. . . .

THE BITTER VILLAGE: Reports from U.S. correspondents, lent support to the N. Korean message of protest. ONA's Robert Martin reported Aug. 10 that the South Koreans have

> seen their homes and villages destroyed by American planes because the North Koreans used them for shelter. They have been forced to evacuate their villages as a security measure against guerrillas. . . . Faulty South Korean intelligence has left a backwash of bitterness among villagers on one sector of the eastern front. The Air Force received reports that 1,000 to 1,500 guerrillas were concentrated in two villages. They bombed, rocketed and strafed the villages, reducing them to smoking heaps. Refugees later complained bitterly that not a single North Korean soldier had been there.

Martin reported on a four-hour flight behind N. Korean lines, over captured S. Korean territory repeatedly bombed and rocketed by U.S. planes.

> I counted at least 10 villages going up in flames. . . . We could smell the acrid smoke from hundreds of small fires. . . . The valleys [were] filled with smoke and the dull glow of burning villages.

TRUCKS OF CORPSES: An eyewitness report by Kun Sa Ran, transmitted by Marius Magnien, correspondent of the French Communist paper **L'Humanite**, said:

> At Taejon for five consecutive days the Americans killed people in the surrounded city. They loaded their selected victims into trucks, making them lie one upon another until the truck was full, then took them to the nearby mountains and shot them. One could hear the cries of the victims before they died: "Long live the democratic republic of Korea."
>
> American planes shoot down refugees who, when their homes have been liberated by the people's army, try to return after their forced evacuation. When they see peasants working in the fields they shoot until they think they have killed them all. . . .

Hard as these reports were for Americans to credit, many felt they must be fully investigated. The words of Army Field Forces chief Gen. Mark W. Clark, speaking on Aug. 5 of the new crop of trainees, were recalled:

> "We will make them ruthless—soldiers who will learn how to kill the mad dogs who are shooting our wounded in Korea."

Asians angry at Korean bombings

IN Asia, particularly in India, indignation at U.S. bombing attacks was high. The N.Y. **Times** reported from New Delhi Aug. 12:

> Anti-U.S. feeling in India never has been so widespread as it is now. With every day of the Korean war bringing more news of bombed cities and flaming villages, the unpopularity of the U.S. is growing. . . . Many Indians feel that the U.S. action in Korea represents foreign domination in Asian lands which they resent. Several declare passionately that the U.S. should get out of Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Formosa and wherever else it may be involved in Asia and let the Asians settle their own problems. . . . Nothing, except possibly the development of the atomic bomb, has hurt the U.S. so much in Indian eyes as its alliance with the French in supporting the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China. . . .

The U.S. war in Korea was finding little support from the non-white peoples of the world. From Mexico City GUARDIAN's Willard Young reported a conversation about Korea on a flight from Dallas to Mexico, between a prosperous Mexican businessman and an American doctor. "The little brown men are not doing so badly, eh?" the American asked after an hour. In Mexico conservative as well as left opinion was frigid:

> LA PRENSA, conservative daily: "The U.S. should weigh our attitude in the hour of crisis from the viewpoint of what our position as loyal allies is worth in U.S. territory, at a time when North American demagogy is trying to discredit our popular regimes."
>
> EL NACIONAL, liberal daily: "Mexico condemns anything that might interrupt peace, and stands against aggressive war, military or economic; to deny a people the access to better conditions of life is also hostility. Mexico has suffered greatly from civil war and from the injustices of foreign intervention."
>
> Partido Popular, progressive party led by union leaders and intellectuals: "The action of the U.S. in intervening on one side of the military struggle in Korea is not in accordance with the precepts of the UN and can only be regarded as unilateral action."

STOP POKING! In Western Europe, where Winston Churchill and Paul Reynaud issued clarion calls for rearmament last week at the Council of Europe meeting in Strasbourg, there was something less than enthusiasm for the large-scale rearmament programs demanded by the U.S. The N.Y. **Times** reported from London Aug. 6:

> Some Europeans fear that the U.S. may be leading its allies into dangerous adventures or into an unnecessary general war. . . . Countries that were bombed and occupied and have only just begun to enjoy a better life are manifestly reluctant to revert so quickly to the conditions of a war economy. . . . With them it is a question of guns or butter.

Of U.S. demands that Europe rearm, Joseph E. Evans wrote in the **Wall St. Journal** Aug 11:

> There is something unseemly in this poking and prodding and needling. . . . [The U.S. is] convinced its sacred mission in life is the salvation of the world at any cost. . . . It is conceivable that this messianic complex has gone far enough. . . . Nations with missions tend not to be appreciated in the long run even by their friends. There is evidence this is already happening to the U.S.

WESTERN KNOW-HOW COMES TO KOREA

A village goes up in smoke and flames after a U.S. raid

How U.S. makes the Middle East saf

By Tabitha Petran

IN March, 1947, President Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine "to help free peoples maintain their free institutions and their national integrity" and so to strengthen the "defenses" of the "free world." In the House of Commons July 27, 1950, Winston Churchill—the man who blueprinted the Truman Doctrine-cold war policy at Fulton, Mo., in May 1946—said:

> "We [the British] are more defenseless than we have ever been. . . . There is no effective defense in Western Europe beyond the British Channel."

So much for the Truman policies' contribution to military strength in Western Europe, keystone of the cold-war arch. With Washington now involved in forcible intervention in the Far East for the same lofty aims, Asiatics are examining with interest the extent to which "free institutions" have been maintained in Middle Eastern countries under U.S. patronage. What they see are concentration-camp nations resting on blood-saoked quicksand.

Turkey

As a Truman Doctrine beneficiary since March 1947, Turkey has seen its living costs shoot up 600%. Wages have been reduced to 70 to 90 Turkish lira a month, with 400 the minimum necessary for existence. Many industries, particularly textiles, are partially shut down because of U.S. dumping, and some 2,000,000 of the 19,000,000 population are unemployed. Armed forces, five times bigger than in 1939, take 63% of the budget, which has a deficit of 175,000,000 lira. Some 400 new jails and concentration camps are under construction in a country with only 200 hospitals and clinics.

Eighty percent of the 16,650,000 peasants are landless (96% illiterate), in bondage to about 6,000 landlords and to banks whose largest shareholders are members of the government. "In the motorized 20th century," wrote the newspaper **Tasvir** recently, "67% of the Turkish peasantry are using wooden agricultural tools, while 100% of the financial aristocracy own motorcars." The area of land cultivation was reduced some 27% in the last year as starving peasants (40,000 die of starvation a year, half the babies born in villages never reach maturity) leave the land.

Greece

Story in statistics since 1947 when Greece became a Truman Doctrine beneficiary:

Killed in civil war	100,000
Executed	2,500
Now homeless	700,000
Rated "excess population" by U.S. experts	2,000,000
Political prisoners (last figure)	30,000

The political prisoners are held in the system of concentration camps on Makronisos Island, sometimes known as "the American Dachau." In an "I Accuse" letter smuggled out of Makronisos this summer, Parliament member Manolis Proimakis wrote:

> In one section there are about 750 persons, among them 100 scientists, physicians, lawyers, agriculturists, some of whom were among the foremost Greek scientists. There are also men of letters, writers, some of our best actors, hundreds of civil servants, many belonging to the higher grades of the administrative and judicial hierarchy. Jour-

THE DACHAU OF GREECE

This is the cover of a booklet on Makronisos, issued by the Greek American Committee for the Abolition of the Makronisos Camp. It is available for 10c from the Committee, 264 W.23 St., N.Y.C.

Beach-head battle intensifies

THE U.S. beach-head in Korea was slowly reduced last week in bitter fighting, despite a U.S. offensive to retake Chinju on the South coast, which advanced 15 miles in a week. GUARDIAN's Max Werner credited it with relieving Pusan. But the series of North Korean assaults over the weekend, Werner said in the **Compass** Aug. 14, showed that the North Koreans have the reserves for a general offensive which they are centering around Taegu, and by which they hope to unhinge the entire U.S. defense system.

Reports from U.S. correspondents at the front said that one of the greatest weaknesses of U.S. forces is a failure to understand the nature of their mission. Writing in the N.Y. **Times** Aug. 12 that "the average G.I. seems not to know why he is fighting in Korea," Richard J. H. Johnston quoted a young infantryman and a 19-year-old corporal:

> "I'll fight for my country, but damned if I see why I'm fighting for this hell hole."
>
> "I keep asking myself what I am doing here. The funny thing is I can't answer my own question."

ONA'S Robert Martin reported:

> Mutual hatred and fear are sapping the vitality of Americans and South Koreans. . . . The undisguised scorn of the Americans toward the backward but proud South Koreans has humiliated them.

For North Koreans, according to AP, the GI is learning respect.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

afe—for free concentration camps

nalists, teachers, bank employees, three are severely mutilated, with legs severed at the thigh. There is a whole division of 70 invalids, more than 150 tuberculars, very old people. Serious heart diseases and other grave illnesses must be added to the list. . . .

We are living in 40 tents, about 20 men to each. These tents are rotten and the rain pours in. . . . They give us two gallons of water per tent, that is, two glasses for each man a day, an amount quite insufficient to quench our thirst. Bodies or clothes are never washed. They have seized all drugs and medicines the men had with them. . . . Some of us are sent to compulsory labor every day barefooted in the cold damp. . . . On the slightest excuse we are severely thrashed.

Another report described "preliminary treatment" given political prisoners seized without trial:

New arrivals were beaten for hours with rifle butts, clubs, and iron rods. Officers and privates trampled upon those who lost consciousness and kicked the prisoners in the face with their hob-nailed boots. Five soldiers among the involuntary spectators went insane.

"Re-education treatment" designed to force prisoners to sign denunciations of communism is usually accompanied by maiming, such as the gouging out of eyes, the breaking of bones, tortures of every description.

A recent letter from a woman prisoner said:

We live together, crowded 30 in a tent, and five have died because of terrible conditions. Among us, there are mothers with babies in their arms, children who have been imprisoned since they were 13 years of age because they were considered "dangerous," and there are also women over 80 who are blind. Not one of these women has ever been charged with any crime. Yet they have been imprisoned behind barbed wire for two, three or four years.

The Plastiras government elected last spring pledged to abolish Makronisos, but has not done so. Public Order Minister Papandreou has taken steps to clear Makronisos of political prisoners by transferring groups of men to the island of Ai-Stratis and women to Trikkeri. The London **Greek Newsletter** quotes one of the gendarmes involved in the transfer:

"They will have plenty of chance here to wish they were back on Makronisos."

Iran

Iran has been a U.S. military protectorate since 1947. During that time 17,000 have been executed; 200,000 political prisoners are held on the Persian Gulf Island of Qishn and in other con-

Hoy, Havana

centration camps. The standing army is 136,000, and three-fourths of the budget is spent on unproductive purposes. Some 80% of the population are peasants, nine-tenths of whom work for absentee landlords. Average annual rural income is $62.50 at the official exchange rate, actually much less. About 90% of the people are illiterate.

Dozens of factories in the cities have closed down owing to U.S. dumping. Hundreds of small handicraft establishments have been ruined. Malaria, trachoma, typhoid and other diseases are rampant. Said a recent AP report from Teheran:

Economic depression is acute here. . . . There is widespread unemployment in Iran, bankruptcies are increasing, the much publicized seven year plan with its American advisers has become a popular joke.

counted, he trailed former Senator D. Worth Clark by only 1,161 votes in an unofficial count. Rep. Compton I. White was a poor third. The incomplete results:

Clark	26,761
Taylor	25,600
White	14,523

Taylor, who had the backing of almost all Idaho labor, campaigned every inch of the state with his wife and two sons as a singing troupe. Fighting against political forces which never forgave him for leaving the Democratic Party to join Wallace in 1948, he was handicapped by the necessity of proving that he had been only a wayward son who had since come home.

Official canvass of the votes begins Aug. 19. In 1944, when Taylor beat Clark in the primaries, the vote was even closer: Taylor won only by 216.

ECONOMY

The great war stick-up is on

Profits—2nd quarter, 1950

	% above 1 yr. ago	% above 1st qr.
321 major corporations	46.5	31.8
7 aircraft firms	117.2	63.4
22 auto & equipt. firms	57.9	50.6

THUS was the picture of the cold and hot war painted in dollar signs by the Wall St. **Journal**, as GIs in Korea painted it with their blood. All profit records had been smashed.

In 1949 the rate of profit rose 30% in the auto industry and was doubled (from 7.6 to 15.3%) in the bread, biscuit and cracker industry, a Federal Trade Commission survey showed. Main source for the stepped-up profit rate in these and other industries was speed-up. In autos the number of units produced and total sales jumped five times as fast as the number of workers. It is estimated that output per manufacturing worker has risen 11% since 1947.

Profits for the first half of 1950 piled up before the Korean war began. Since June 25 basic commodity prices have risen 15%. Justifications for this pure and simple profiteering are increasingly hard for business journals to find. The **Journal of Commerce** conceded "industrial profits are ample in most instances and there is little justification" for spiraling prices.

THE WAR & YOU: Even the most conservative authorities estimate that, as commodity price increases are passed on to the consumer on the retail level, living costs will rise 5% by the end of the year. **U. S. News** said some experts "expect it might go up that much within the next three months." A more realistic estimate is a rise of 10% by the year's end. This would add $18,000,000,000 to the living costs of U.S. families. With the increased tax burden, the initial bill for the Korean war and stepped-up militarization, this averages $800 per family—on top of the present cold-war tax and price load.

In the month ending July 15, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported, meat and food prices rose 2 to 3%; consumer organizations said they had in some instances jumped 25% since Korea. Government cost-of-living figures are notoriously behind actual prices paid. During World War II actual prices, according to CIO studies, were 15 to 20% higher than government statistics indicated. Food, clothing, house furnishings make up nearly three-fifths of the average family's cost of living. These items, and rents, too, are moving up.

LARDED POCKETS: Yet the Dept. of Agriculture said food stocks were ample and no increase in farm production is contemplated. Prices paid to farmers have been going steadily down, and the Dept. indicated July 23 they would not rise much, if at all, above the 1949 level as a result of the Korean war. But it admits speculation is rampant.

A Commodity Exchange Authority report last month said price advances in the first four weeks of the Korean war ranged from 5% on corn to 41% on

"Don't you know there's a war on? I want 10-cent pay machines installed."

lard; in textiles, 19.1% on cotton and 15.8% on wool tops. Showing the extent of speculation was the increase in futures trading in that period—128% in eggs, 98% in lard, 78% in wheat, 44% in wool. Said the CEA report:

A speculator who purchased just before the Korean episode and deposited the minimum margin could have cashed in five weeks later with an approximate 450% profit on lard, 300% on cotton seed oil, 300% on soybeans, 150% on cotton or wool tops, and a comparatively modest 100% on the relatively sluggish wheat futures.

WHY NOT TRY SUGAR? Secy. of Agriculture Brannan commented:

"The wide-open door to speculation and inflation provided by the commodity exchanges is an astonishing incongruity considering that housewives and citizens generally are being asked to refrain from buying beyond their immediate needs. . . . [Housewives] buy sugar for example in five-pound lots and there is a limit to what can be stored in the home. On the other hand, the speculators in commodity exchanges can buy it for future delivery in lots of 112,000 pounds. They do not have to worry about storage. The housewife pays cash and speculators need deposit as little as 7% of the price."

Brannan spoke in support of that section of the President's economic mobilization bill which would permit the Secy. of Agriculture to fix margins on futures tradings. Business considers this the "most controversial" of the President's demands.

The Administration and Congress are using widespread demand for price control to put over a wage freeze and bogus price controls. With prices spiraling, the House by a vote of 383 to 12 passed the economic mobilization bill giving the President the powers he requested, plus standby power to control wages, prices and rationing of goods. The bill contains a labor clause freezing the Taft-Hartley law as the standard of labor relations.

POLITICS

Gideon quits his army

ON July 15 Henry A. Wallace, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1948, broke with the party's national committee on the Korean war. In a separate statement he said:

"I hold no brief for the past actions of either the U.S. or Russia, but when my country is at war, and the UN sanctions that war, I am on the side of my country and the UN."

Wallace said he would resign from the party if the majority of the membership failed to support him. Last week the results were in: all 21 functioning PP state organizations backed the national committee's resolutions. Mail response was almost universally against Wallace's position. On Tuesday Wallace sent a two-paragraph note of resignation to PP secretary C. B. Baldwin. Baldwin said:

"I am sure the other leaders and members of the party will share my deep regret. . . . The Progressive Party was organized as the party of peace. With Mr. Wallace we have unerringly pointed out the direction in which our bi-partisan cold war foreign policy was leading us.

"The fight will be continued with greater vigor than ever until the world can again be united and at peace."

AFTERTHOUGHTS: Wallace said he had "no political plans whatsoever" for the immediate future. On Thursday he elaborated his views on Mutual Broadcasting System's "Reporters Roundup," in an interview with Murray Snyder (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**), Warren Moscow, (N.Y. **Times**) and Cecil Brown, commentator. He said that the U.S. is actually at war with the Soviet Union;

that "Russia is clearly the aggressor;" that the U.S. should not use the atom bomb in Korea but should keep it in reserve because of the mass of Russian strength; that "I now believe Russia wants to continue the cold war for its own reasons."

He would not commit himself on the question of a loan to Spain, said he couldn't say if the Progressive Party is a Communist Party front, declined to take a stand against outlawing the Communist Party. But he said he still thinks a Truman-Stalin meeting would do some good.

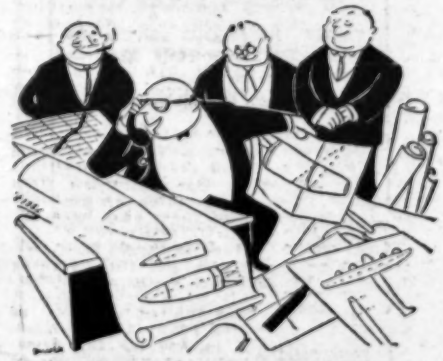
Taylor loses in Idaho

Democratic Sen. Glen H. Taylor, running mate of Henry Wallace in 1948, who quit the Progressive Party a year sooner than Wallace, was fighting for his political life in Idaho's primaries

last week and refused to give up till the last vote was counted. At the end of the week, with only 29 precincts still to be

PEACE

Capital FBI greets Women for Peace



Front, Brussels

"Stop bothering us with your peace talk. No one around here wants war, I assure you."

MORE than 1,000 women from eastern and midwest states—a few were from as far away as California and Louisiana—came to Washington last week with a plea to save world peace by outlawing the A-bomb and mediating the war in Korea. But the President wouldn't hear them. The women, led by Dr. Clementina Paolone of New York, met in a church, marched in front of the White House, knelt and prayed in Lafayette Park and sang the

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

spiritual, "We Ain't Gonna Study War No More."

A delegation finally got an audience with Asst. Secy. of State John D. Hickerson. He said: "The United States is for peace."

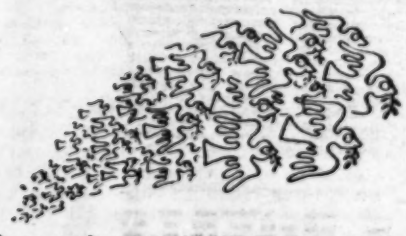
The women were followed, watched and photographed by swarms of plainclothesmen and FBI operatives. They were badgered by newsmen trying to put a "subversive" tag on their organization, American Women for Peace, formed a month ago when a group of 300 women went to the UN to appeal for peace.

VIGILS FOR PEACE: Around the country church groups held 24-hour vigils to mark the fifth anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima, Aug. 6, 1945. In New York vigils under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation sent a message to a group of 600 high school girls in Hiroshima who in February had appealed to world leaders to save the peace:

> We add our voices and prayers to yours in a plea for peace. We ask Pres. Truman and Premier Stalin to outlaw atomic and bacterial weapons; to enter into a pact for complete disarmament and to use the savings in constructive work for the well-being of all people.

GAINS IN THE WEST: Frieda Schwenkmeyer, secretary of the National Labor Conference for Peace, returned to Chicago from a trip to the West Coast with a report that peace activities have stepped up since Korea. This is what she found:

In Redding, Calif., an NLCF committee was formed with its leaders mostly from AFL building trades. They pledged to coordinate their work with the local NAACP.



In Los Angeles, members of Mine-Mill, UE, Furniture, Rubber, Auto, Office and Public unions have set up shop committees. A needletrades peace committee includes members of the ILGWU, Amalgamated, Fur & Leather, and Cap unions. In San Francisco, John Flowers, Marine-Cooks, coordinating the labor peace drive, reported that in a week he alone got 500 signatures.

Labor peace committees are functioning in Oakland and Richmond, Miss Schwenkmeyer found. "Thousands of agricultural workers in the valley are signing the World Peace Pledge."

In Tacoma, Wash., American Smelting & Refining Co. workers, members of Mine-Mill, have already gathered 1,300 signatures. Members of Mine-Mill, railroad and AFL unions in Salt Lake City formed a committee. So did some CIO Steelworkers in Pueblo, Colo.

. . . AND DREAM OF HOME
A GI in Korea catches a nap before the battle starts up again

WON'T BE INTIMIDATED: In New New York, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, chairman of the Peace Information Center, said that the following distinguished Americans had "joined with the million and a half ordinary citizens who have expressed their strong will for peace by signing the World Peace Appeal in the face of intense intimidation":

> The Rt. Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Oregon; Dr. D. V. Jemison, President of National Baptist Convention; Bishop William A. Fountain, Sr. Bishop of African Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. Dr. W. H. Jernagin, President of National Baptist Sunday School Convention; Artur Schnabel, famous pianist; Dean George A. Parker of Terrell Law School, Washington, D.C.; Bishop A. R. Clippinger, Presiding Bishop of Evangelical United Brethren, and Prof. G. Murray Branch, of Morehouse College, Atlanta.

"THE GAME OF LIFE": In hundreds of U. S. communities unintimidated clergymen and educators continued warning against the atomic war danger from their pulpits, in public meetings, in radio broadcasts and letters to editors. In Canada 64 United Church, Anglican and Roman Catholic clergymen representing every province had signed the Stockholm Appeal. In Quebec province 70 Roman Catholic municipalities had endorsed it.

To a theologian who said the Appeal was a "publicity trap," the French Catholic priest and former law professor Abbe Jean Boulier replied:

> "Well, then, make it your publicity, add your signature, the signature of a Christian; give testimony of your Christianity on the petition on which men, all men, offer evidence of their humanity. . . . Where is the Communist game in this? I play the game of the Church, the game of the Evangelist, the game of life against the game of death and frightful massacre. You tell me that is the game of the Communists. You cannot grant them higher praise."

And said Msgr. Galiasti, Bishop of Grosseto, Italy:

> "Anyone who talks of the possibility of using the atomic weapon as a means of warfare deserves the pitiless and eternal malediction of history . . . All men who are endowed with good sense must intervene against the atomic bomb."

COVENTRY SPEAKS: Reports from countries in the U.S. pressure zone showed that recent memories of war devastation remained uppermost in the people's minds. In Britain, a late starter, signers of the Stockholm Appeal neared 1,000,000. Calling on the world's youth to support the drive, the young people of Coventry—"the city whose name became a byword for terror bombing"—wrote:

> The atom bomb will not "concentrate," but annihilate. Let us ban it now . . . We declare our desire to live in peace with the peoples of the world.

In Paris Frederic Joliot-Curie, head of the Partisans of Peace, said that throughout the world 273,470,566 people had signed the World Peace Appeal.

Hoodlum victims jailed; $30,000 bail

TWO of four employes at the General Motors plant in Linden, N. J., who distributed "Hands Off Korea" leaflets were severely beaten, carried bodily from the plant. Later their United Auto Workers local suspended them; still later the company followed suit. Last week the two beaten workers went into court to press charges of atrocious assault against five of their attackers. Magistrate Lester Simandl said:

> "I will not hold you in contempt— although I view you with contempt."

For the attackers he set bail at $1,000 each; for the attacked, $5,000—after counter-charges of assault were made against them. Next day they were in court again, this time charged with violation of a 1918-vintage criminal syndicalism law unused since 1922. Bail went up to $20,000 for one, $30,000 for the other. Both went to jail. Their attackers were still on the outside.

In New York City two women peace petitioners were fined $50 each. In Flint, Mich., a squad of 12 men heaved a fellow-worker out of the plant because he advocated peace. In Los Angeles 12 workers on a construction job menaced four peace petitioners until guards rescued them. In Santa Monica police rescued a peace worker from a menacing mob.

40 Philadelphians arrested

In less than six weeks more than 40 persons have been arrested in Philadelphia for circulating petitions or distributing leaflets, or simply for meeting together in a private home.

Newest and worst of the police at-

(Continued on following page)

Abide With Me

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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CALENDAR

New York — New Jersey

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"ARTIST SPEAKS OUT FOR PEACE" roundtable discussion with Rico LeBrun, Morris Carnovsky, Ted Gilien, Howard Warshaw, Keith Finch, others, sonsored by Arts & Arch. Div. ASP at "OPERATION PEACE" art exhibit, Praymart Gallery, 430 N. La Brea, Phone WE 9982, Don. 50c.

Vermont

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(Continued from preceding page)

tacks came Wednesday night. Eleven members of the Young Progressives of America, Negro and white, met in a ground floor apartment in Philadelphia to discuss election work. A poolroom hanger-on across the street saw them, began pointing through the window and shouting "Commies." He collected a crowd.

The crowd became noisy and abusive. A plainclothes cop egged them on. When police prowl cars arrived the cops raided the apartment. They searched it, seized Progressive Party literature, hustled all 11 off to jail. Police Capt. Brennan told a reporter he decided on the arrests because he detected "a potentiality of violence." Magistrate Elias Myers held seven in $1,000 bail each for breach of the peace, disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly. On Friday they were released on habeas corpus proceedings.

Latest of the peace petition arrests landed four women in jail; two were mothers of small children, a third was a grandmother. The four were held in $5,000 bail each by Magistrate Myers who advised them to "go back to Russia."

California

'Pink' postman fights ouster, wins

IS your postman pink? The question seemed to bother Arthur C. Rainer, an eccentric old gentleman of Torrance, Calif., whose mail was brought by Puerto Rican-born Laureano Gonzales. When "Dr." Rainer, as he is known to neighbors, complained to Gonzales of his poverty and lack of friends, Gonzales had given him a standing invitation to dinner. Rainer enjoyed the food and company, but the dinners stopped when he recommended the works of Koestler, Gitlow, Lyons and Eastman to Gonzales and Gonzales angrily rejected them.

Gonzales' sympathy had been partly due to the fact that in 1948 Rainer wore a Wallace button and the postman admired Wallace. But there were many things Gonzales did not know about Rainer. One was that the "Doctor" had a habit of lying on the Public Library floor on hot days and setting fire to the chairs when the librarian objected—an eccentricity which had landed him in the county hospital mental ward as a senile psychotic. Another was that for 15 years he had been in regular correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover, who in return for local "subversive" lists supplied by Rainer sent books and pamphlets on communism by J. Edgar Hoover.

A FIGHTER'S LUCK: Early in 1949 Gonzales was tried by a local "loyalty board" and found guilty of Communist Party membership and consistently pro-Russian sympathies. Admitting he had years before been a Communist, he denied the charges but was fired.

Gonzales determined to fight it through. By a stroke of luck he discovered the identity of his accuser and fought successfully for the right (denied to almost all "loyalty" victims) to confront him. The hearing brought out "Dr." Rainer's sordid dealings with the FBI, and the fact that he was illegally drawing old-age pension while concealing other sources of income. Gonzales' attorney strongly suggested that Rainer had been blackmailed into stool-pigeoning as the price of silence on the pension deal.

Last month Gonzales was ordered reinstated in his job. But hundreds of other postal and other government employes walked the streets, victims of Rainers they could neither identify nor confront.

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"A COUNTRY WHERE EVERYONE LIVES IN FEAR"

Truman eases the way for Mundt's police state bill

By Lawrence Emery

Once a government is committed to the principle of silencing the voice of opposition, it has only one way to go, and that is down the path of increasingly repressive measures, until it becomes a source of terror to all its citizens and creates a country where everyone lives in fear.—Harry S. Truman, Aug. 8, 1950.

THE path Harry Truman warned against was, in the eyes of many Americans, the path along which his government was already far advanced. On Tuesday he sent a message to Congress which suggested advancing further along that path. For the protec-

tion of traditional U.S. civil liberties and freedoms, there were brave words. For new repressions, with the door open for more to come, there was a call to prompt action. Specifically, he demanded:

- **Extension of the statute of limitations on peacetime espionage.**
- **Persons "trained by a foreign government or political party in espionage or subversive tactics" to register as foreign agents.**
- **Broad authority to formulate "security regulations" for military bases and defense areas.**
- **"Subversive" aliens to register with and report regularly to the Justice Dept.**

Speaking by inference of the pending Mundt-Ferguson police state bill and the Hobbs concentration camp measure for aliens, Truman called them "unnecessary, ineffective and dangerous." Mundt bill sponsors saw the tongue in the Presidential cheek. Said Karl Mundt (R-S.D.):

"I welcome this support on the part of the President, belated though it comes."

Sen. Kenneth S. Wherry (R—Neb.) also interpreted the message as supporting the principles of the Mundt bill.

RAMPANT HATE: This was how it looked in Washington to GUARDIAN's John B. Stone:

Never, not even after the sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, has there been such an outburst of wild, thoughtless, all-pervading hate here. In this midsummer madness few can believe that Truman, in requesting legislation that could jail almost anyone opposing his Administration, thought he was calming, not inciting political hatred. Part of his message could be interpreted as a mild reproof of Sen. Lanhan for calling William L. Patterson a "black son of a bitch," but it seems apparent that the kind of hate Truman's message stirred up must result in more of the same kind of horror.

Former Rep. Jerry O'Connell and 210 delegates from 19 states and the District of Columbia are here at an emergency conference called by the Natl. Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill. It looks like a forlorn hope that they are placing in Senate floor leader Scott W. Lucas' statement that he will move to have all the subversive bills sent back to the Judiciary Committee for hearings. Pat McCarran, the long-time friend of Franco, is chairman of that committee, which has already reported out the Mundt Bill. Both Truman and Lucas know that Mundt and Ferguson will put the entire Mundt Bill in an amendment to any subversive bill brought on the floor — and will get away with it.

The message's stimulus to repressive legislation was immediate. On the next day the Senate approved three bills unanimously:

- **Death penalty for peacetime espionage.**
- **Power to exclude any alien, including top-ranking diplomats, suspected of even an "incidental" intention to "endanger the welfare or safety of the United States."**
- **Power for the heads of "sensitive" government agencies to discharge summarily suspected "security risks," with the President holding the right to classify any agency as "sensitive."**

"DO IT QUICKLY": Mundt bill backers were determined to get floor action in the Senate before the week was out. Administration leaders were not opposing the bill itself; they were maneuvering only to remove if possible the "stigma" of Republican authorship. In the House the Un-American Activities Committee was ready toward the end of the week to report out a revised Mundt-Ferguson bill which contained all its important provisions but didn't bear the name.

On Wednesday the Hobbs bill, providing indefinite imprisonment without bail for deportable aliens whose home lands will not accept them, was up for action in the Senate under procedure requiring unanimous consent. It was blocked only by the objection of Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.) on the request of Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), who was absent. The House passed the bill July 17.

On Thursday, Sen. McCarran (D-Nev.) wrapped up into one big om-

SEN. PAT McCARRAN
Try the jumbo size

nibus bill all the important features of the Mundt-Ferguson bill, the Hobbs bill, the internal security bill and the subversive alien exclusion bill. On some points he hardened the provisions of the police state measure. When the Senate referred the jumbo package to McCarran's own committee, Sens. Mundt and Ferguson were delighted; they would be happy to support the McCarran version, which was "much tougher" than their own. McCarran himself took a bow in Harry Truman's direction. He said he had

". . . received a token of encouragement from the Administration in the form of a message from the President which was sent to the Congress on the day before yesterday."

SUPPRESS THE PLUMBERS: Meanwhile the Justice Dept. was planning more direct action to denaturalize more than 1,000 citizens on political grounds. Last week 150 prominent Americans protested the plan, warning it would endanger the rights not only of 11,000,000 naturalized citizens but of native-born as well.

Almost as the President's "We must not be swept away by a wave of hysteria" was being read in Congress, his Defense Secretary Louis Johnson was quoting him to the effect that the natoin's safety was imminently imperiled by a small group of plumbers in Alaska. In striking for a pay increase on a defense housing project there, said Johnson, they were "jeopardizing the security of the U.S." The President, he added, had approved his statement.

"Subversives" denied bail?

In New York City the Civil Rights Congress appealed to all progressives to wire the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Foley Square, N.Y.C., urging that bail be continued for ten Communist Party leaders pending their appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

On Saturday Judge Thomas W. Swan of the U.S. Court of Appeals issued an order for the ten to appear in court Aug. 17 to show cause why their bail should not be revoked. The move was approved by Atty. Gen. McGrath. Grounds were identical with those offered in the Bridges case, which was used as a precedent. The government argued that "the defendants have pursued and will continue to pursue a course of conduct and activity dangerous to the public welfare and national security of the U.S." If bail is revoked, the ten will begin serving sentences of three to five years in prison, and will be required to pay fines of $10,000 each. The CRC called the court's ruling upholding the conviction of the ten "the most far-reaching and dangerous decision ever rendered in this country."

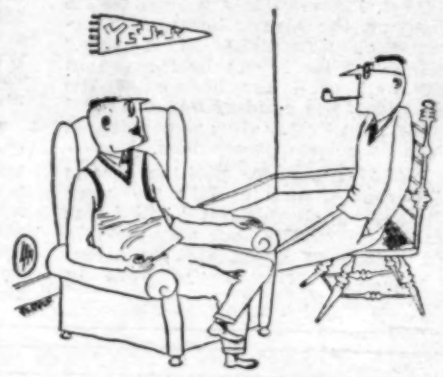
Others far from the Left saw a danger too. The Chicago **Sun-Times** editorialized:

The right of an American to hold a minority opinion—even the dizziest sort of minority opinion—must be upheld if our free society is to continue truly to be a free society. . . . For the benefit of all Americans, not just 11 Reds, the case should be given a final test in the Supreme Court.

THE BRIDGES FIGHT: On the West Coast defense attorneys for Harry Bridges were fighing a legal battle for reinstatement of $25,000 bail, revoked a week ago on a U.S. charge that Bridges at large was a "menace to security."

When a Federal District Judge rejected as "without merit" a petition for habeas corpus, the lawyers appealed to the U.S. 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The American Civil Liberties Union, charging the government showed "little wisdom and much madness" in jailing Bridges, also petitioned for bail.

In Hawaii 4,000 sugar plantation workers, members of Bridges' ILWU, staged a 25-hour protest strike; plantation owners promptly suspended them without pay for another 24 hours. By the end of the week some 3,000 other sugar workers on other islands had walked out. The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union denounced the jailing as "vicious persecution, a labor frameup and the continuation of a union-busting campaign against the ILWU." Later 200 of its members refused to



International Oil Worker

"I've got my future all figured out. A couple of years with the Commie Party, and when I resign . . . fame, fortune, prestige . . . witness fees . . ."

sign on an American President Lines ship in protest against Coast Guard screening for "subversive" seamen. The 18-man executive board of Bridges' union, polled by telegram, unanimously condemned the jailing as "un-American and dangerous." Two days after Bridges' jailing, the ILWU was informed it was the winner in a collective bargaining election by waterfront guards employed up and down the coast by the Pinkerton National Detective Agency.

DMYTRYSHYN: In New York City the government called seven witnesses in the deportation proceedings against Andrew Dmytryshyn, vice president of the Ukrainian American Fraternal Union of the International Workers Order. None of them had ever seen Dmytryshyn before. His name was scarcely mentioned. What the government seeks from the case is a ruling that would permit it to deport every foreign-born IWO member. Charles Baxter, latest witness for the government and an Immigration Dept. employe, admitted on the stand that he was involved in a war-time shakedown racket.

On Thursday the Immigration Dept. arrested Rose Nelson, an employe of the IWO and president of one of its lodges, on a charge of belonging to an organization that distributes printed matter "advising and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the U.S. government." The IWO has refuted this accusation. She was also charged with membership in the Communist Party.

ROBESON & PATTERSON: After a week of protests the State Dept.'s invalidation of Paul Robeson's passport still stood on the ground that his travels abroad are "not in the interests of the U.S." In Washington a delegation of 12 to the State Dept. denounced the action as "authoritarian, arbitrary, unprecedented, unjustified, unfair, and discrimination against Negroes." The Committee for the Negro in the Arts warned of danger to all Negro artists. From Paris the head of the World Fedn. of Democratic Youth protested the action as "one more step toward complete liquidation of democratic liberties in the U.S."

From many sources came demands for impeachment of Georgia Representative Henderson Lanham, who during a House hearing a week ago insulted and tried to assault physically the Civil Rights Congress chairman William L. Patterson. A protest rally was held in New York City's Harlem Saturday night.

The right of witnesses is affirmed

LAST week chairman John S. Wood (D-Ga.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee moved for contempt citations against 56 persons who declined on constitutional grounds to answer questions on their political beliefs. If prosecuted, the 56—an all-time record number—will be liable to $1,000 fines and one-year jail sentences.

By Thursday citations were out against Julius Emspak, a top official of the United Electrical Workers, and Steve Nelson, Communist Party leader in Western Pennsylvania. Next day the House cited 54 more. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.), who cast the only "no" vote against the action, charged the House was for "the rule of hysteria rather than the rule of the constitution."

COMMON SENSE IN TEXAS: All 56 contempt citations won by the Un-American Activities Committee resulted from witnesses' refusal to answer questions on grounds that the answers might tend to incriminate them—a protection guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

Meanwhile on Aug. 5 in the Northern District of Texas, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a federal judge for holding in contempt a deportation case witness who refused to answer questions on constitutional grounds. In a sweeping affirmation of the right of witnesses to claim such immunity, Circuit Court of Appeals Justices Holmes and Borah said:

"Appellant does not have to prove that his answers would incriminate him to be entitled to his privilege. If that were the nature of the burden, he would be forced to divulge the very facts that the immunity permits him to suppress. . . .

"If the question be of such a description that an answer to it may or may not criminate the witness, according to the purpose of that answer, it must rest with himself, who alone can tell what it would be, to answer the question or not.

"If in such a case, he say upon his oath that his answer would criminate himself, the court can demand no other testimony of the fact."